

# THE PARTICULARIST EUROPE

---

Mikhail Minakov

*Forum II 'In Search of Lost Universalism'*

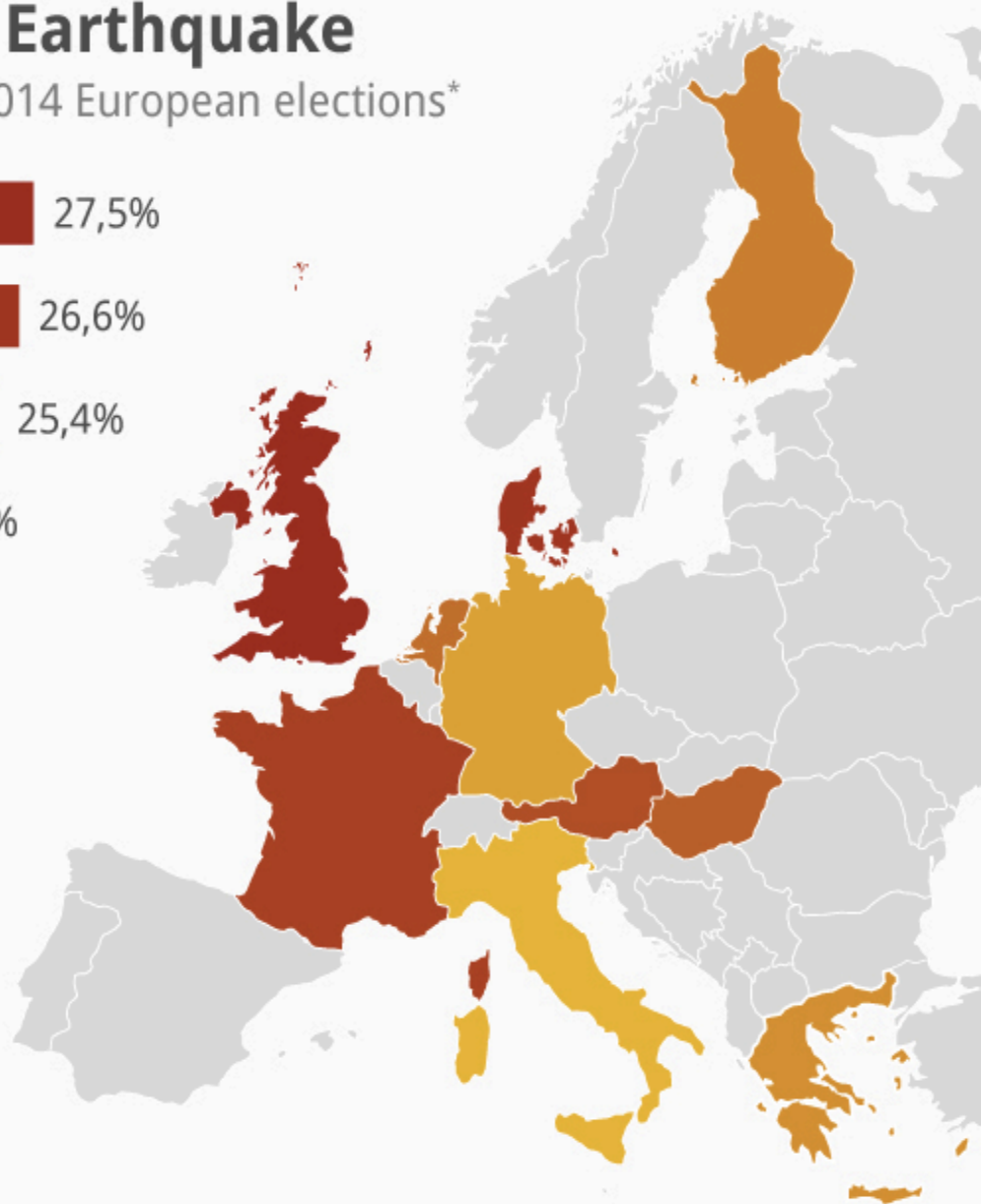
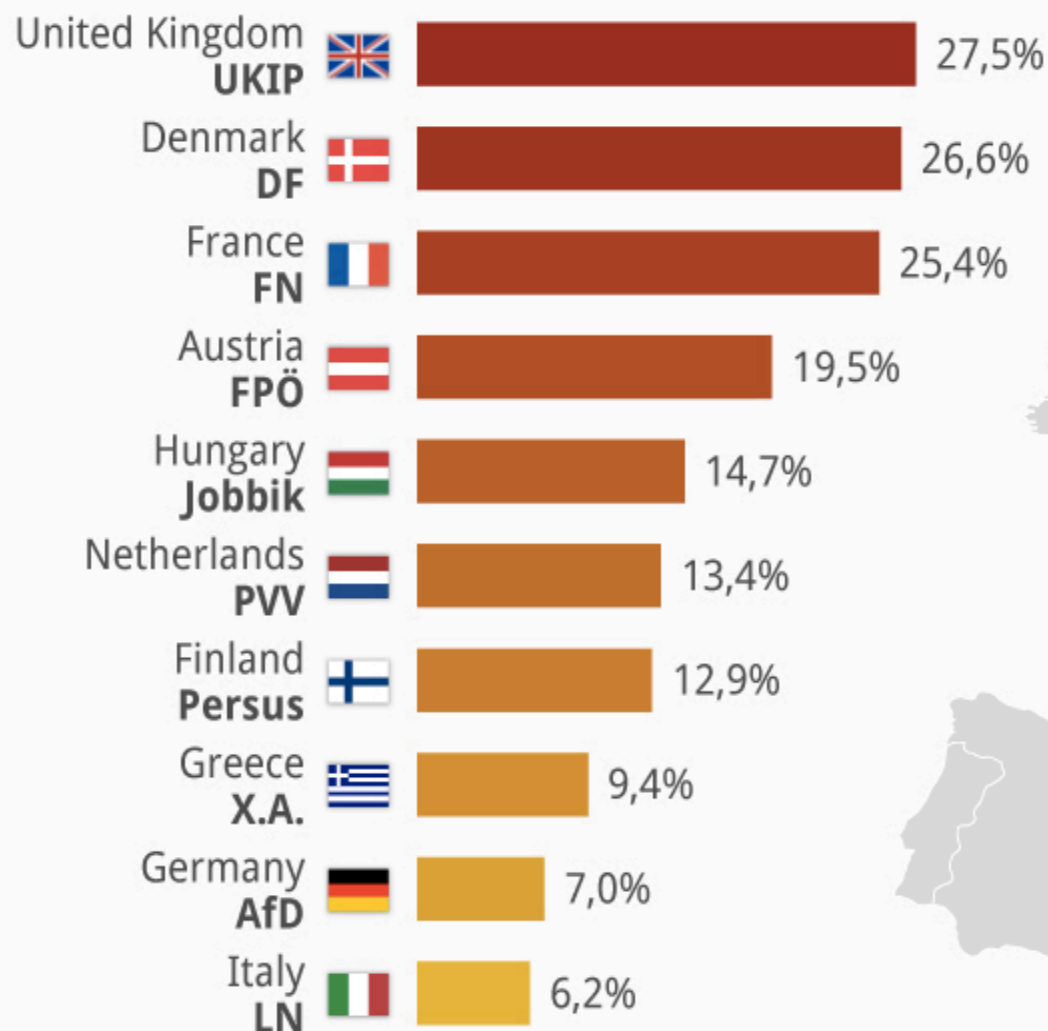
*17-18 October 2016*

# RECENT EVENTS IN EUROPE

- leading nationalist presidential candidate in Austria
  - nationalism on a rise in Nordic countries (Denmark, Finland, Norway)
  - Eastern European nationalist authoritarianisms between Moscow and Ankara
  - ultra-conservative turn in Hungary and Poland
  - Brexit and EU crisis
-

# Far-Right Leads Eurosceptic Earthquake

Performance of eurosceptic parties in the 2014 European elections\*



# EXTREMIST PARTIES ON THE MARCH

## FRANCE



- Party: Front National
- Leader: Marine Le Pen (pictured left)
- In Brief: Anti-immigrant, strongly Eurosceptic, wants a 'free Europe of sovereign nations'
- Vote share: **25%**

## NETHERLANDS



- Party: Freedom Party
- Leader: Geert Wilders
- In brief: Describes itself as 'right-wing liberal'. Against Islamisation of Holland. Wilders compares Koran to Mein Kampf.
- Vote share: **13%**

## DENMARK



- Party: Danish People's Party
- Leader: Morten Messerschmidt
- In brief: Anti-immigration, anti-multiculturalism, pro welfare curbs on migrants from inside EU
- Vote share: **27%**

## GERMANY



- Party: Alternative für Deutschland
- Leader: Bernd Lucke
- In brief: Set up only two years ago. Anti-Euro. Wants to 'correct Europe' and repatriate powers.
- Vote share: **7%**

## POLAND



- Party: Poland New Right
- Leader: Bow-tie wearing Janusz Korwin-Mikke, 71
- In brief: Wants to turn the EU Parliament into a brothel
- Vote share: **7%**

## HUNGARY



- Party: Jobbik
- Leader: Gabor Vona
- In brief: Neo Nazi, wants detention camps for 'deviant' Roma. Anti-Semitic.
- Vote share: **15%**

## AUSTRIA



- Party: Freedom Party
- Leader: Hans Christian Strache
- In brief: Far right, strongly Eurosceptic, anti-immigrant. Slogan: Too much EU is dumb.
- Vote share: **20%**

## ITALY



- Party: Five Star Party
- Leader: Ex-comedian Beppe Grillo
- In brief: Flamboyant even by Italian standards. Wants 'direct democracy' and referendum on leaving the Euro.
- Vote share: **21%**

## GREECE



- Party: Golden Dawn
- Leader: Ilias Panagiotaros
- In brief: Neo-Nazi. Leader has praised Hitler as a 'great personality'. Links to organised crime.
- Vote share: **10%**



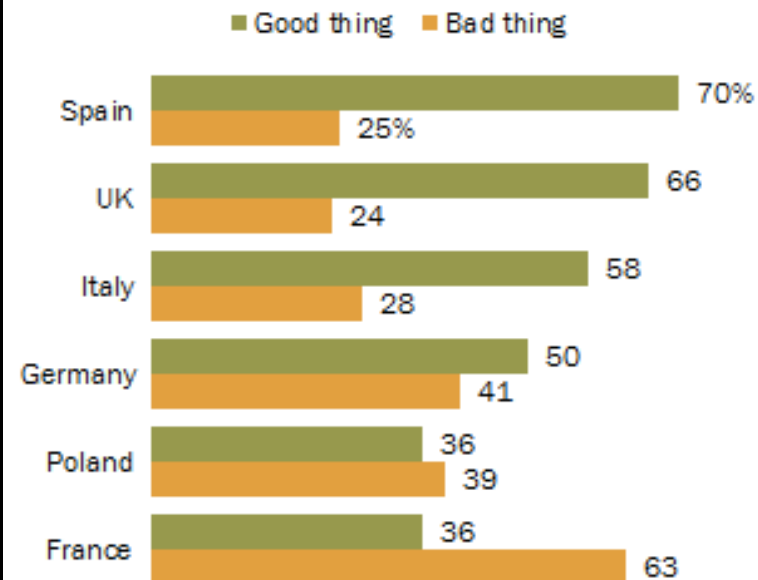


# CONSEQUENCES SO FAR

- national establishments soften towards nationalism
- new nationalist and eurosceptic parties

## Most View Eurosceptic Parties as Good Thing for the Country

*The rise of nation-specific nontraditional parties is a ...*



Note: Asked about UK Independence Party in UK, National Front in France, Alternative for Germany in Germany, Five Star Movement in Italy, Podemos in Spain and Congress of the New Right in Poland.

Source: Spring 2015 Global Attitudes survey. Q77.

PEW RESEARCH CENTER

# COMMON TREND

- **Destroyed Unity**: lesser chances for One Big Europe
  - **De-Modernization**: lesser role of political and economic rationality
  - **New Archaic**: extreme conservatisms shaping Big Anti-Europe
-

# IDEOLOGICAL PROCESSES

- **Darkness from East**: failure of liberal democracy in post-Soviet Europe
  - **EU contradiction**: super-national bureaucracy VS national politics
  - **Nativist Euroscepticism**: discursive victory of particularism
  - **Big Ant-Europe**: equivalence of particularist forces in the East and West
-

# Eurasian Union

## Pro-Russian European Parties



### UNITED KINGDOM INDEPENDENCE PARTY

UK, 1993

**Nigel Farage**

Conservative party with the primary objective of securing the United Kingdom's withdrawal from the EU and tightening immigration policy



### FLEMISH INTEREST

Belgium, 1979

**Tom Van Grieken**

Flemish nationalist political party that advocates independence for Flanders and strict limits on immigration whereby immigrants would be obliged to adopt Flemish culture and language



### NATIONAL FRONT

France, 1972

**Marine Le Pen**

Far-right nationalist party known for its anti-Muslim rhetoric. Anti-immigration party advocates a zero tolerance approach to law and order issues and withdrawal from EU and NATO



### NORTHERN LEAGUE

Italy, 1989

**Umberto Bossi**

Anti-immigration political party which advocates federalization of Italy leading to eventual independence of northern regions with the capital of the future north Italian state to be Milan

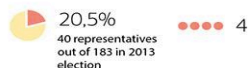


### FREEDOM PARTY OF AUSTRIA

Austria, 1956

**Heinz-Christian Strache**

Far-right political party with an anti-Muslim position which regards migrants as the key factor undermining the standard of living of native Austrians and weakening their cultural identity



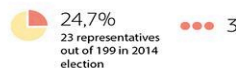
**FPO**

### JOBBIK

Hungary, 2003

**Gábor Vona**

Hungarian radical nationalist party accused of anti-gypsy and anti-Semitic policies. Advocates against integration into the EU and for greater Hungarian autonomy in Ukraine's Transcarpathia region



### NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY OF GERMANY

Germany, 1964

**Frank Franz**

Far-right nationalistic party with racist ideas and revanchist position which advocates returning Germany to the borders of 1937



### ORDER AND JUSTICE

Lithuania, 2002

**Rolandas Paksas**

Right-wing national liberal political party which is critical of Lithuanian membership of the EU



### THE CONGRESS OF THE NEW RIGHT

Poland, 2011

**Michał Marusiak**

Conservative right-wing party which advocates ideas of economic liberalism and defends the independence of the Polish economy from the EU



### ATTACK

Bulgaria, 2005

**Volen Siderov**

Nationalistic party which opposes Bulgarian membership in the EU and NATO while advocating partnership with Russia



### SYRIZA

Greece, 2004

**Aleksis Tsipras**

This coalition of the radical left is an anti-establishment party which advocates the revision of Greek national debt, opposes NATO membership, and advocates the nationalization of banks and other enterprises



### GOLDEN DAWN

Greece, 1993

**Nikolaos Michaloliakos**

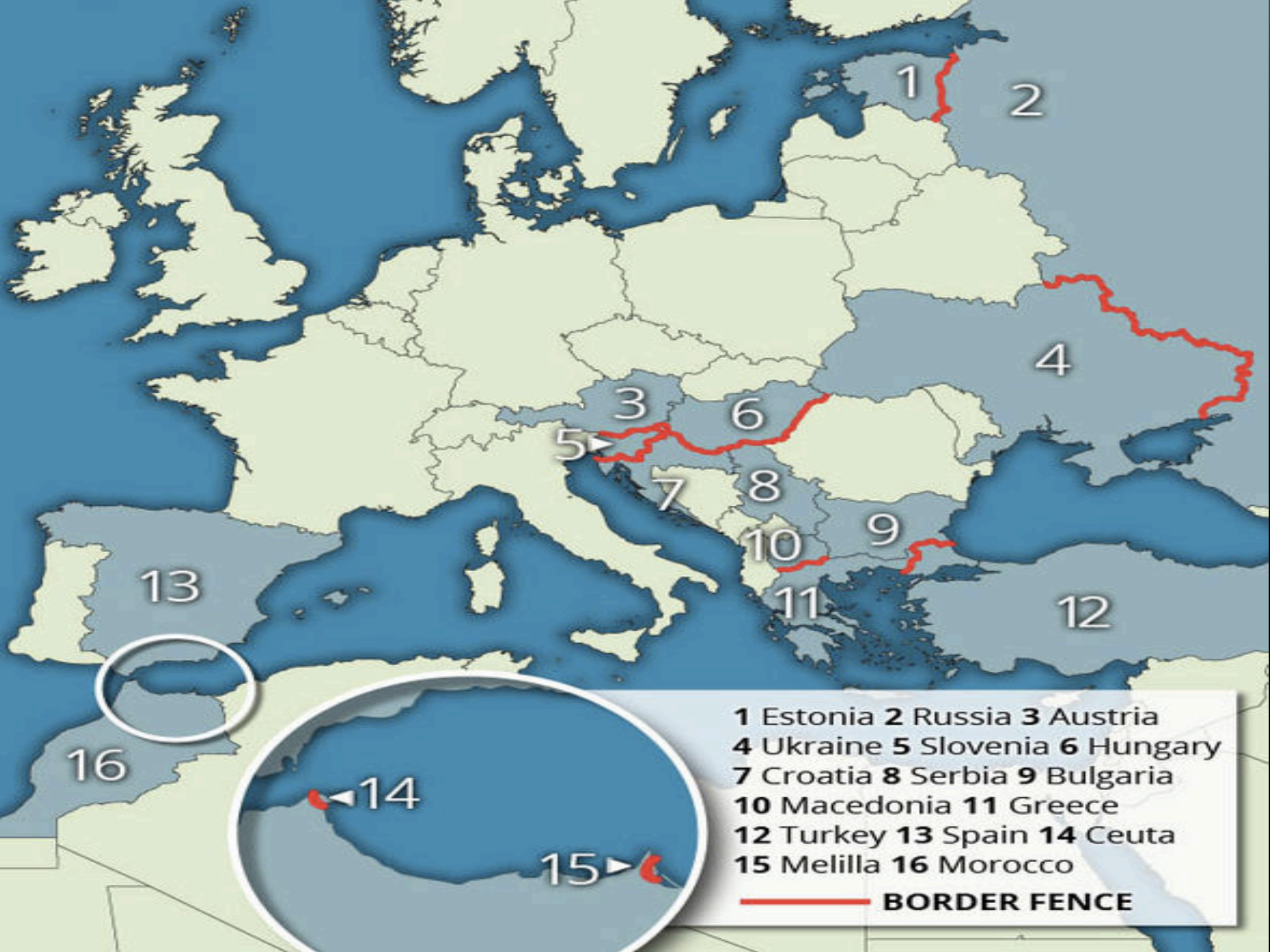
Far-right party with openly racist ideology. Advocates strict limits on immigration and the defence of traditional values



**ΣΥΡΙΖΑ**







- 1 Estonia 2 Russia 3 Austria  
4 Ukraine 5 Slovenia 6 Hungary  
7 Croatia 8 Serbia 9 Bulgaria  
10 Macedonia 11 Greece  
12 Turkey 13 Spain 14 Ceuta  
15 Melilla 16 Morocco

**BORDER FENCE**

# NEED IN RE-INACTION OF UNIVERSALISM

- new **vision** of One Europe
- **universalist agenda** for national politics
- **enforcement** of EU and Council of Europe